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The fingerman for the "Eisenhower Doctrine"
Adm. Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, points to the area where Secy. Dulles, shown with him, says the U.S. aims "to stop World War III before it starts." Question: How do you stop a war by putting yourself in the way of starting one?

U. S. GIVES ITS POSITION

UN disarmament debate opens on a note of hope

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S debate on disarmament opened in an atmosphere of cautious hope. The U.S.'s new disarmament proposals, previewed in the President's State of the Union message, and unveiled here in general principles a few days later, contained no very real concessions but did indicate a slight "give" in hitherto rigid U.S. positions.

The U.S. is now prepared to begin reduction of its armed forces—to a maximum of 2,500,000 men—apparently without waiting for the operation of a "foolproof" inspection system. It is willing to consider an agreement to "control" outer-space missiles and satellite development. It has offered to work out methods for advance notice of nuclear tests. The gist of the U.S. proposals is "effective international control of all future productions of fissionable materials"—to be used or stockpiled "exclusively for non-weapons purposes."

These proposals fall short of those leaked to the press last month by White House adviser Harold Stassen. Stassen had suggested "limiting" guided missile development (that is, stopping short of final perfection), and gradual withdrawal of NATO and Warsaw Pact troops from Central Europe. Furthermore, Washington's fixed position on weapons of mass destruction has not changed: it still apparently insists on an "open skies, open ports, inspection system in open centers" operation before instituting control or disarmament, although this last point was not made entirely clear.

GROUND FOR HOPE: Assembly delegates, however, were inclined to take hope from the fact Washington was reported still to be discussing the idea of joint troop withdrawal from Central Europe and did not appear to shut any doors.

The "new" U.S. approach—insofar as it is new—is a response to a long series of Soviet initiatives on disarmament, the latest presented Nov. 17 (see box, P. 8). The UN would like a substantial Assembly discussion of disarmament, since the annual Assembly debate is just about the only time world opinion has a chance to make itself felt on this all-important question. However, since spring of 1954, when the U.S. persuaded the UN to set up a five-power disarmament subcommittee (in an effort to divert alarmed and angry world reaction to its Bikini H-bomb explosion), the Western tactic has been to shunt all disarmament discussion into the subcommittee. There it has for the most part been successfully concealed from world attention and understanding.

TALK IN WASHINGTON: This year,

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AMIDST THE DULL PLATITUDES

Inflation ahead? Ike's message sounds a warning

By Lawrence Emery

IF THE PLATITUDES were dull, they were at least noble, even pious, as both houses of Congress and a glittering collection of distinguished guests listened unmoved to President Eisenhower's State of the Union message on Jan. 10. The talk was brief (33 minutes) and it stirred the audience to light applause exactly five times, a record for lack of enthusiasm on such an occasion. House Speaker Sam Rayburn, always crusty, dismissed it as "one of those kind of usual things."

The nation, Mr. Eisenhower said, has need for "vision and wisdom and resolution." In world affairs it must play "a high role . . . of vigorous leadership, ready strength, and above all, sympathetic understanding." It must adhere to its three founding principles: ". . . A vigilant regard for human liberty . . . A wise concern for human welfare . . . A ceaseless effort for human progress." For a peroration the President offered this: "And it is still true that the great concept of the dignity of all men, alike created in the image of the Almighty, has been the compass by which we have tried and are trying to steer our course."

MORE TO COME: The message was as short as it was because it contained a minimum of legislative proposals, which will be spelled out in detail in the budget message and other communications at later dates.

Domestically, the President found the state of the nation satisfactory, but he warned of the perils of inflation, and called for a non-Congressional commission to conduct a thorough study of credit and related matters to improve the "financial machinery" of the country.

He linked rising prices to rising wages and called on both labor and business to exercise "self-discipline," the implication being that if they didn't, government restraints would have to be imposed. "By that process," he said, "freedom will step by step disappear." Inflation is such a threat, he declared, that "no subject on the domestic scene should more attract the concern of the friends of American working men and women and of free business enterprise than the forces latent and active that threaten the depreciation of our money."

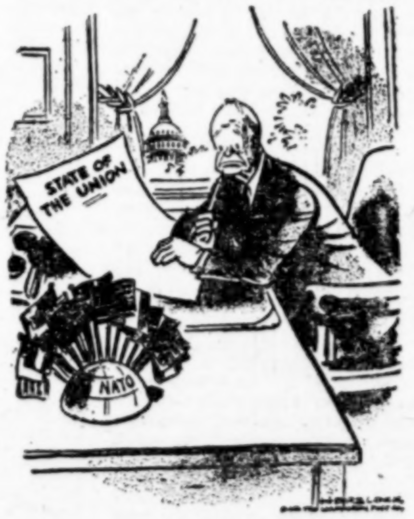
PRICES AND WAGES: He called on business to "avoid unnecessary price increases, especially at a time like the present," and advised labor that "increases in wages and other labor benefits . . . must be reasonably related to improvements in productivity."

Business journals and the labor press would have plenty to say on both these points; the recommendation for a non-Congressional financial inquiry brought an immediate response from some Democratic sources that any such study should be conducted by Congress itself.

For top priority in domestic legislation, the President singled out Federal aid for school construction and his own modest four-point civil rights package. On the school construction bill, he said: "I am hopeful that this program can be enacted on its own merits, uncomplicated by provisions dealing with the complex problems of integration."

This was a reference to a desegregation rider attached to the bill last year; with the amendment added, the bill as a whole was defeated.

"CALM AND REASON": Against a background of bombings and violence in the South inspired by advocates of jimcrow, the President had only this to say: "I urge the people in all sections of the country to approach these integration problems with calm and reason, with mutual understanding and good will, and in the American tradition of deep respect for the orderly processes of law and justice."



Herblock in Washington Post

Although the Eisenhower concept of "partnership" in the development of water resources and power was a key issue in the recent campaign—Douglas McKay resigned from the Cabinet to challenge Sen. Wayne Morse on that question and lost—the President reiterated his policy and made it plain that no change is contemplated.

NO TALK OF TAXES: The President made no mention of taxes in his message, but he has already made it clear that the Administration will fight for cancellation of automatic tax cuts due April 1. These would reduce excise (sales) taxes, as well as corporate taxes; the President wants them both extended for another year.

The fireworks normally set off by a State of the Union message by a just reelected President will have to wait this year for the Administration's specific proposals to reach Congress. But even then, if middle-road Democrats like Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson have their way, there won't be any pyrotechnics.

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Vol. 9, No. 14 401 January 21, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Our annual letter

HOPING FOR 3-CENT DELIVERY at the 2-cent rate, we waited until after the holiday rush this year to mail our annual renewal letter to subscribers. Perhaps we shouldn't have pinched that penny stamp. At this writing we are getting returns from California but some Brooklynites haven't yet got our letter. The mail has gone through snow, sleet and gloom of night to Goldbar, Wash., and Chicken, Alaska, but not to parts of Manhattan's Upper West Side.

While waiting for the postman's whistle, perhaps we ought to stress a point which seems not to have been made clear enough in our letter. We offered everybody—free—a very nice Mexican art print from the Taller Grafica artists' group, 16 x 19 in., suitable for framing. On the back of our reply card we pictured in miniature the eight subjects available; the idea being for you to give us your 1-2-3 order of choice to help us come as close as possible to suiting your preference.

IT TURNS OUT that a lot of folks are checking the box where it says, "Please send me, as a free gift, one of the Mexican art prints . . ." without indicating on the reverse which they like best, next and third. Our precaution was double-barreled: we wanted, first, to be sure to send you something you like in case our supply of your first choice ran out; and, second, we wanted to avoid picking your art for you. All the prints are beautifully drawn, faithful to and respectful of the Mexican people—a challenging lot to choose among. We'd rather you did your own choosing.

Frankly, from showing the album around in advance, we expected the big front-runner might be Dosamantes' "Three Women," pictured backs to the artist with braids cascading almost to the hemlines. But thus far the first choices are almost evenly distributed among all eight subjects, so no shortages have developed to date.

So pick freely, friends—but please don't ponder too long over the problem. We do want your renewal and your expression of support now, as we enter the new year.

WE HATE TO LEAVE ANYBODY OUT of this art offer, especially our "Buck of the Month" pledgers, who don't get renewal letters because their subs are automatically renewed in the course of monthly remittances; and of course our newsstand, bookshop and bundle-order readers whom we cannot reach by mail.

A two-penny postcard with just your name and address on it will bring you a copy of our annual letter, gift offer and all. Let's hear from you, too.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

Old Ben was right

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

Our Congress should be most reluctant to abrogate or surrender its Constitutional and sole authority to declare or make war. This Constitutional safeguard is the people's only protection against any rash or ill-advised action of any President engaging us in any war without the consideration and consent of Congress.

The American people do not want any war, not even a little one, and the time to keep peace is before we get into war. Wars are easy to start and hard to stop. Washington and Jefferson both warned the American people not to become involved in foreign entanglements; and Benj. Franklin was right when he said, "There never was a good war nor a bad peace."

John L. Widner

Suicide Doctrine

BELHAVEN, N.C.

Before election, President Eisenhower called war in this atomic age unthinkable. Two months later, President Eisenhower asks for standby power to use U.S. armed forces in case of direct or indirect Soviet penetration of the Near East. To indicate how stupid and obsolete the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine is: even if we establish U.S. military bases in the Near East, Soviet Russia can, at any moment, drop one small atomic bomb on each American military establishment around its periphery and on every U.S. naval unit in its neighborhood, while simultaneously announcing that any attack on Russian territory will bring instant mass nuclear bombardment of the United States. Then what would we do? Commit suicide?

Vernon Ward

Trochaic

CLEVELAND, O.

Roses are red,
Eden is blue;
His empire's dying,
And France's, too.

Reader

Post-election parry

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In your Jan. 7 mailbag, J. N. McCullough says, "If I had voted for Stevenson I would have voted for Dixiecrat control of Congress." But we still have Eisenhower in the White House and we still have Dixiecrat control of Congress! Proof positive that voting for Stevenson had nothing whatever to do with control of Congress. And Eisenhower is much more a "Dixiecrat" himself and actually cooperates with them on any and all occasions where he figures to profit by his and their connivances.

There was about as much logic in the way J.N. doped it out as there was in that "landslide" vote for Eisenhower. Better voting logic might have rid us of both Eisenhower and the Dixiecrats. As it is, it is still possible for the honest souls in Congress to break that Dixiecrat control but we sure are stuck with four years more of the Great Gawd DeDee! Meanwhile, we move from atom to hydrogen to cobalt with the speed of maniacs on a tear. Let 'em rip!

Horace Casselberry

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 14—(AP) The Big Ten's plan for granting football scholarships on the basis of financial need was attacked as "too Socialistic" today by a member of the University of Minnesota board of regents.

"If they're hiring the kid to play football," said Daniel Gainey, "they ought to pay him whether his old man is rich or not. Establishing the 'need' of the college athlete is too Socialistic . . . This is not scholarship."

Los Angeles **Times**, Dec. 15, 1956.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anne G. Marglin, Los Angeles. Be sure to include original clip with entry.

Temperance note

BERKELEY, CALIF.

GREAT SCOOP KHRUSHCHEV INTERVIEW ON JEWS JAN. 7 IF TRUE, K. EITHER IDIOT OR RACIST WITH HIS VICIOUS GENERALIZATIONS. IF UNTRUE, CANCEL MY SUB. PREVIOUS QUOTES FROM K. SUBSTANTIATE GUARDIAN STORY. SUGGEST SWITCH BRAND VODKA OR SEND HIM AA LITERATURE.

Sidney Roger

CIA curtain

MUSKEGON HTS., MICH.

It would be revealing if a Congressional committee would investigate the CIA (Allen Dulles' agency) demanding an accounting on how and why they spend their large, unaccounted-for appropriation. I can almost hear the horrified cries of the Secy. of Defense and the Pentagon. They are afraid of an expose of their machinations and cover up by classifying them as top secret. Thus the curtain is drawn between our officialdom and a highly intelligent citizenship who must like it, since each succeeding election they return this corrupt system to power.

O. T. Beckley

Use of force

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Kumar Goshal, in his reply to Richard Yaffe, says he cannot agree with Premier Ben-Gurion that the Arabs understand nothing but force. Since 1948 more than 2,000 men, women and children were killed and wounded by the so-called Fedayeen murder squads throwing bombs into classrooms by day and in the darkness of night into bedrooms where mothers and children were sleeping. If the State of Israel cannot protect its own citizens, who will—the United Nations? How would you like living in a border kibbutz with a plow in one hand and a gun in the other, expecting death from one of these Arabs who understand nothing but force?

Nathan Zughaft

Goshal's point was that since neither the war of 1948, the border raids or the invasion of Egypt—all employing force—settled anything permanently, other means would have to be found to end the Arab-Israeli conflict. Ed.

Diplomatic inquiry

W. HAVEN, CONN.

A Soviet ship came to Alexandria Dec. 1, bringing complete equipment for a hospital for 300 people, medicine, surgical instruments, three thousand tons of wheat, half a million cans of condensed milk. Also ten ambulances.

Soviet "aggression?"

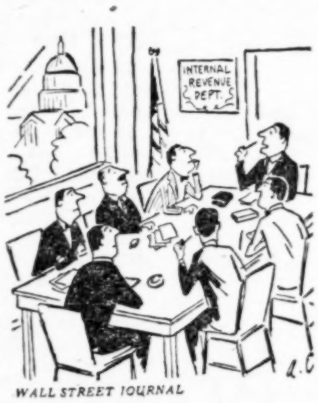
M.R.

Taruc trial

CALABASAS, CALIF.

We have read that Louis Taruc will be put on trial by his Philippine captors. Don't you think we should start a campaign to see he gets a fair trial? Otherwise, this good man who has fought so hard for his people may be framed and end up before a firing squad.

R. A.



Wall Street Journal

"Well then, how about a tax on tax forms?"

Over & Over

WILMINGTON, CALIF.

Dick Williams, L.A. **Mirror-News** entertainment editor, writes as follows:

"Most unforgettable Christmas card of the hundreds I received . . . the one from Hungarian film star, Eva Bartok, showing the night lights of Budapest and the brightly-lit bridge across the river in 1938. I keep glancing at it over and over again."

I, too, keep glancing at that date, 1938, over and over again. I keep glancing at page 910, vol. 11, 1949 issue of Encyclopedia Britannica, which reads as follows:

"The year 1938 put an end to Hungary's hesitations. It also replaced Italy by Germany as the decisive influence in Hungarian politics. Imredy, a well-known financier, became prime minister. One month before, the parliament had passed its first anti-Semitic legislation, restricting the participation of Jews in the political and economic life of the country. The new government carried on this policy * * * Rearmament was taken up actively . . . The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia . . . awarded eastern Slovakia and the southern . . . Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary. This success of the pro-nazi policy was followed by Hungary's leaving the League of Nations and joining the anti-communist pact of Germany, Italy and Japan. The anti-Semitic legislation was introduced and Hungary's life quickly coordinated with the Nazi concepts of policy."

Over and over . . .

Mackenzie Owen Coggin

Planned program

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

We want the whole world to know that another peace fighter has come into this world. He was born Jan. 2, 1957, at 7:57 p.m. We certainly need progressives and straight-thinkers in this present era. If you can't convert them—make them!

Mr. & Mrs. Christos Kourambis

Nice Mice

ERWIN, TENN.

Enclosed $15. None of us who "made" it want any credit—but the idea might be worth passing on. I picked berries, tame and wild, here on the creek and Eliza made them up into jams and jellies. A couple visiting from Phila. agreed to take a dozen pints back to the city and raffle them off to GUARDIAN friends. The names of the dozen purchasers I do not know. But see how country mice and city mice working together can work wonders!

Ernest Seeman

Most reliable source

PARK RAPIDS, MINN.

Since this publication provides us with what we believe is the most reliable source of information we have, we cannot afford to be without it.

Articles from Belfrage, Petran and others are of special interest in view of recent developments in Middle East and Central Europe.

Mr. & Mrs. Henry Vokes

Out of the confusion

VILLA OBREGON,
D.F., MEXICO

I am customarily not a writer of letters of appreciation. However, I cannot refrain from writing you to tell you what a wonderful job I think you are doing in these troubled times. In reading the popular press, one struggles to make something out of the mass of confused data; but the GUARDIAN always presents a clear, complete and unbiased picture. It seems to me that the reporting of Elmer Bendiner is of particular high quality; but it is all first rate. This makes the GUARDIAN the most accurate newspaper in the U.S.

William Engelhardt

MIDDLE EAST POT BOILS

Egypt: Exodus of the Jews; Yemen: Clash with British

THE TURMOIL churned up by the invasion of Egypt continued in the Middle East even after armed conflict had ceased. These were some of the developments last week:

- There was an exodus of Jews from Egypt.
- Warfare flared between Yemen and Britain over the British protectorate of Aden.
- Syria opened the trial of 47 persons accused of "planning rebellion"; the trial caused a stir among Syria's neighbors.
- The UN faced the prospects of more hot issues being dumped in its lap.

THE EXODUS: On Jan. 7 the Egyptian liner **Misr** brought 957 Jews to Naples. On Jan. 10 the Intl. Red Cross announced it had arranged for a second ship carrying out Jews from Egypt. There were conflicting reports of Cairo's treatment of Jews remaining in Egypt as well as of those who were being expelled or leaving the country voluntarily.

N.Y. **Post** correspondent William Richardson reported (1/8) from Naples that Jews arriving there told of brutal treatment before they left. They said they had been herded in the Sebil and Betesh schools in a suburb of Cairo; kept without food for the first three days, and again for three days after they had complained to a visiting Red Cross representative; cooped up in small rooms in batches of 18 and 20, with less than adequate sanitary facilities; forced to sign affidavits of "voluntary" departure from Egypt; marched to the docks handcuffed, with jeering and spitting onlookers stoning them as they marched.

An **AP** (1/7) dispatch from Naples repeated the stories "of terrorism, imprisonment, expulsion and the forfeiture of property."

"WHY NOT US?" Most of the Jews reaching Naples were stateless. They said they had been allowed to take out only $280 and luggage valued at $140. Despite their charges, they all agreed that "the Misr's crew threw a gay New Year's party for them, giving them such presents as cigarets, soap, whiskey and toys for the children."

According to Richardson, most of the Jews were going to Israel, although many "would give anything to emigrate to the U.S." Several asked: "If America can accept Hungarians, why not us?" The **Post** correspondent found it "a difficult question to answer."

DENIAL IN CAIRO: The total Jewish population in Egypt was estimated to be about 45,000, of which no more than 10,000 were Egyptian citizens. About half were stateless, the others had passports from various European countries they had never seen.

AP (1/10) from Cairo reported the Egyptian government had denied persecuting or expelling Jews who were citizens. Authorities said those who were leaving were going voluntarily; those arrested for security reasons—the number varied from the official 250 to an unofficial 600—were being interned, not expelled. The government said it had sequestered over 600 Jewish-owned businesses with British or French shareholders or partners; but was now thinking of lifting sequestration on all concerns with less than 50% British or French capital.

CHAIN REACTION: The **AP** story said that the treatment accorded to a few hundred Jews had started a chain reaction in Egypt's Jewish community. But with the relaxation of tension after hostilities ceased, "the anti-Jewish wave of arrests, dismissals from jobs [for security reasons] and sequestration of property has abated and apparently halted." **AP** said that Zaki Ereibeh, an eminent Jewish lawyer who was an Egyptian citizen, insisted that "Egyptian Jews are being treated with fairness and justice and living prosperously and securely."

Ereibeh, who planned to visit the U.S., "blamed Zionism for security measures against a few hundred Jews." **AP,** however, reported that a majority of Egypt's Jews seemed to be planning to leave the country.

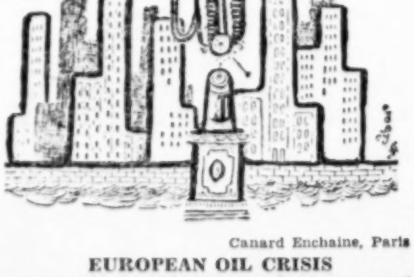
TROUBLE IN YEMEN: On Jan. 8 the Yemen government charged that British Royal Air Force planes had bombed Yemenite territory on Dec. 31, violating the Yemen-Britain peace treaty. London promptly denied the charge. However, it was not denied that fighting had broken out between Yemen and Britain's Aden protectorate.

Yemen and Aden—the conglomeration of minute sheikhdoms—form the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula. The city of Aden in the British protectorate (pop. 650,000) is vitally important to Britain as the world's biggest oil-bunkering port. Ever since World War I, when Britain and France redrew the map of the Middle East to suit themselves, Yemen has claimed sovereignty over Aden. Border strife between Yemen and Aden has been endemic since then, although in 1934 a peace treaty was signed.

THE SHAKY IMAM: Recently Yemen gave oil and mineral concessions to American and German firms, made an arms deal with Czechoslovakia and the Imam (Yemen's ruler) renewed his claim to Aden. Border fighting broke out, with Britain accusing Yemen of fomenting trouble and Yemen accusing Britain of stifling the desire of the people of Aden "to rejoin their motherland."

A typical feudal ruler, the Imam almost lost his throne through a popular uprising two years ago. Today his advisory council of ulemas (wise men) were reported "restive at his conservative and personal administration" (N. Y. **Times,** 1/9). The Yemeni delegation at the UN lodged a protest with Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold against the alleged British bombing.

TRIAL IN SYRIA: On Jan. 8 Syria opened the trial of 47 persons—18 were being tried in absentia—on charges of planning to overthrow the government in collusion with a foreign power. Those accused included such high dignitaries as former President Shishekly, now said to be in Switzerland. Some of the accused were reported to have taken asylum in neighboring Lebanon. "A Lebanese partisan of some of the defendants," the **Times** reported (1/9), "said today that it was logical in his view that they might plan an armed uprising against the present [Syrian] government with its leftist trend."



Canard Enchaine, Paris

EUROPEAN OIL CRISIS

"How about Liberty lighting the world?"

THE ROAD-BLOCK TO CIVIL RIGHTS

Eastland keeps power over Judiciary Committee

THE SENATE on Jan. 9 followed up its earlier action to preserve the filibuster by reelecting Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) chairman of the powerful Judiciary Committee. In a voice vote Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) cast the only audible "No". Joseph S. Clark Jr. (D-Pa.) was absent but authorized Douglas to announce him as voting "No." Three other Democrats abstained. No Republican cast a dissenting vote.

Before the vote, Douglas made a brief statement of protest against the selection of Eastland; Democrats Wayne Morse and Richard Neuberger of Oregon and John A. Carroll of Colorado attacked the Senate seniority system, which is Eastland's sole claim to the post. Morse announced that he intends to introduce a resolution on the whole subject of seniority as the determining factor for committee chairmanships.

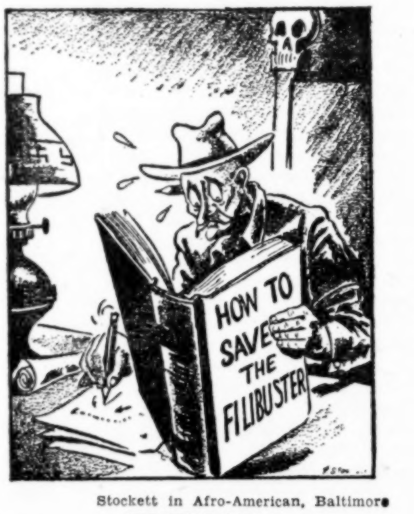
THEY MAKE EXCEPTIONS: But the seniority rule, hallowed as a Senate tradition, is not always applied. Two days earlier Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.) managed to by-pass it by securing the appointment of Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) to the important Foreign Relations Committee over the claim of Sen. Estes Kefauver (Tenn.). Kefauver has four years seniority on Kennedy. He was among the sharpest critics of the proposed "Eisenhower Doctrine."

Newly-elected Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.), who has frequently expressed his opposition to Sen. Eastland, sat silent during the Eastland election. Queried by the N. Y. **Post,** he exused himself: "I am very new here . . ."

Many organizations and prominent individuals were on record opposing Eastland's chairmanship. The Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in a statement dated Dec. 28 urged that he not be seated even as a member of the committee, let alone as chairman. It said: "Sen. Eastland has engaged in activities that foster disrespect for law and promote domestic disorder, subvert domestic policy and reflect upon the honor and dignity of the Senate."

FILIBUSTER MOVES: The Senate's deference to Eastland seemed a fair gauge of its approach to the filibuster and to civil rights legislation, over which much more noise is being made. The initial defeat, 55 to 38, of a move to amend Senate rules so a filibuster could be stopped was being followed up last week by a spate of resolutions from both sides of the aisle designed to accomplish the same thing.

That first vote, even though it represented a sizeable increase in strength for the anti-filibuster forces, was a keen disappointment to civil rights advocates. The Pittsburgh **Courier** put a bitter headline over the story: "South Wins Fight Against Freedom!" The Baltimore **Afro-American** summed it up: "Clasping hands in the traditional unholy alliance with unreconstructed Dixiecrats, 28 right-wing Republicans . . . were successful in scuttling the move to end Senate filibusters." Noting the close division of the vote within each party on the issue, the Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times** saw the result as proof of a major point: "If the filibuster vote didn't accomplish anything else, it provided the people with an early and persuasive demonstration that there is little difference between the two parties of Congress."


HOW TO SAVE THE FILIBUSTER

Stockett in Afro-American, Baltimore

BONING UP

BI-PARTISAN BLUSH: Both parties were keenly aware of a major 1956 development: a continuing shift of the Negro vote from Democrats to Republicans could be decisive in national elections. Northern and Western Democrats want to win back the ground they lost in the last election; Republicans want to hold the ground they won and increase it. Current moves against the filibuster have a curious bi-partisan complexion.

Of four resolutions now headed for the Rules Committee, one offered by Minority Leader Knowland and co-sponsored by Majority Leader Johnson is given most chance of success if it ever reaches the floor. It would provide for ending debate by a majority of two-thirds of the Senators present and voting. This would also apply to debate on a motion to consider a rules change, which is presently unlimited. By Jan. 11 32 Senators—22 Republicans and ten Democrats—had endorsed the Knowland-Johnson resolution.

RULES GROUP FIRST: There were other variations. A resolution offered by Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) would cut off debate by a Constitutional majority (49 votes) 12 working days after serving notice that a vote would be taken. Another sponsored by Sen. Douglas would end debate by a vote of two-thirds of Senators present after two days, and by a simple majority vote after 15 days. One offered by Sen. Morse would stop the talk by a Constitutional majority after 96 hours of debate on a cloture motion with each Senator limited to one hour.

All of these resolutions must clear the hurdle of the Rules Committee, the new chairman of which is Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.). Members of the Rules Committee include Joe McCarthy and newly-elected Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia. If any resolution gets to the floor, it still faces the filibuster, which remains in force under the system of rules continued by the Senate on Jan. 4.

On Jan. 7 Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) introduced President Eisenhower's package of watered-down civil rights proposals. These, as well as other stronger recommendations, must clear the Judiciary Committee presided over by Sen. Eastland.

A FOUR-POINT BILL: At the end of the week it was reported that Majority Leader Johnson had agreed to a strategy including round-the-clock sessions to wear down a filibuster against a four-point civil rights bill sponsored by Sen. Hennings. Two of its provisions—Federal protection of voting rights and the creation of a civil rights division in the Dept. of Justice—are identical with two proposals in President Eisenhower's recommendations. The other two points would make lynching a Federal offense, as well as physical attacks against uniformed members of the armed forces.

The strategy calls for a Senate test on this measure by the end of April, with an attempt, if necessary, to close debate under the existing rule which requires 64 votes. Sen. Johnson is reported to have agreed not to use his position to keep the bill from the floor, not to participate in the expected filibuster, and not to block efforts to break it.

Another attempt to change the rules on unlimited debate was said to be scheduled later at this session of Congress.

POWELL DEFENSE WINS

Judge overrules State Dept. ban on trip to China

FEDERAL JUDGE Louis E. Goodman of San Francisco last week in an unprecedented move overrode the State Dept. to authorize a trip to China by A. L. Wirin, attorney for William and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman.

All three were editors of the English-language **China Monthly Review**, published in Shanghai up to 1953, and are now awaiting trial under a 1917 sedition statute for publishing articles critical of the U. S. position in Korea and charges of U. S. use of germ warfare there. The trial has been set tentatively for April 15. The government charges the articles damaged U. S. morale during the Korean hostilities.

Attorneys Wirin and Doris Brin Walker, in answering the charge that the germ-warfare reports were knowingly false, asked for permission to take depositions from witnesses abroad. Some 50 witnesses now in China are willing to testify. Judge Goodman earlier ruled that the government must pay all expenses plus $12 per diem for the two defense attorneys to gather their depositions.

Wirin has a passport but, like all those currently issued, it is stamped "Not valid for China." When the State Dept. refused to validate Wirin's passport he announced plans to file suit in the District of Columbia Federal Court to compel the lifting of the ban on China travel. At the same time he applied to Judge Goodman for permission to travel from Hong Kong to China without a passport.

NO PENALTY: Last week the Judge issued his order authorizing Wirin, as "an officer of the court," to enter China after leaving his passport in Hong Kong. The order, the first of its kind, rules that "neither the U. S. nor any person acting under its authority shall impose any penalty or punishment of any sort upon A. L. Wirin, whether by way of criminal prosecution, administrative sanctions, revocation or modification of a passport or issuance of a new passport or otherwise, solely by reason of his entry into or departure from China or North Korea for the purposes contemplated by this order."

The order specifies that Wirin may interview witnesses and bring them to Hong Kong to testify, though it sets a deadline of Feb. 15 for the start of deposition taking in Hong Kong. Wirin said he plans to talk to Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and North Korean President Kim Il Sung as well as to a number of scientists and others. He hopes to persuade some witnesses to come to San Francisco. Wirin is scheduled to leave on Jan. 26.

JOHN & SYLVIA POWELL
The issue is a free press

ACLU STATEMENT: The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California spoke out sharply on the case last month declaring in a formal statement "this prosecution presents a serious threat to fundamental liberties, particularly freedom of the press and fair trial. The statement pointed out that the original alarm over the World War I sedition act was one of the causes of the formation of the ACLU. It warned that if the editors of the **Review** can be convicted of sedition because of the effect of their writings on public morale or because the conclusions they drew from reports are "unacceptable", then press freedom is endangered:

"Editors cannot be expected to publish anything which differs from the official view, if they can do so only by risking 20 years imprisonment if a jury, possibly swayed by the passion and intolerance of wartime, should make an adverse finding as to the editor's 'intent.'"

The ACLU also said that in order to rebut the government's contention that the reports printed in the **Review** were false, the defendants would have to secure "voluminous evidence from foreign countries which is beyond the reach of the court's subpena power" and have "access to secret military files which, we may assume, will not be permitted." Since the jury is likely to feel, said the ACLU, that an acquittal would be considered as convicting the U.S. of aggression and germ warfare, "this puts irresistible pressure on them to convict the Powells whether the evidence justifies it or not."

GOVERNOR OFFERS REWARD

Montgomery churches bombed; Negro leaders appeal to Ike

FOUR churches and the homes of two ministers who have been leading the fight against jimcrow buses in Montgomery, Ala., were bombed and badly damaged last week. No one was hurt.

The three-man City Commission, all members of the White Citizens Council, ordered all bus operations stopped "until further notice." The buses had been suspended at night after shooting attacks during the New Year holidays. Complete suspension has been among WCC aims.

The bombed churches were the Bell St. Baptist, First Baptist, Hutchinson St. Baptist and Mt. Olive Methodist churches. The homes dynamited were those of Rev. Robert Graetz, white pastor of an all-Negro Lutheran congregation, and Rev. Ralph Albernathy, vice president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. The MIA successfully conducted the stay-off-the-buses campaign which ended with last month's U.S. Supreme Court mandate affirming a lower court opinion outlawing jimcrow on Montgomery's buses.

The Montgomery **Advertiser** (1/11) pointed out that "Alabama law specifically provides that the bombing of an inhabited house, even if unoccupied at the time of the explosion, is a capital offense punishable by death." The minimum penalty on conviction is 10 years in prison.

FOLSOM STEPS IN: Gov. Folsom personally intervened after the bombings. He visited each of the bombed churches and the parsonages and offered a $2,000 reward.

The governor disclaimed reports that he might order out the National Guard, adding: "I think it is a little late to do that. The damage has already been done." Alabama Safety Director Bill Lyerly, who said the reward also applied in Mobile, where two bombings occurred earlier, quoted the Governor: "They could've been done by Negro hoodlums, Communist hoodlums, or by white hoodlums, but whoever did these bombings must certainly be hoodlums."

Most press and radio references to the violence call it "racial" without mentioning its anti-Negro character or the fact that the Negroes are pledged to a course of non-violence.

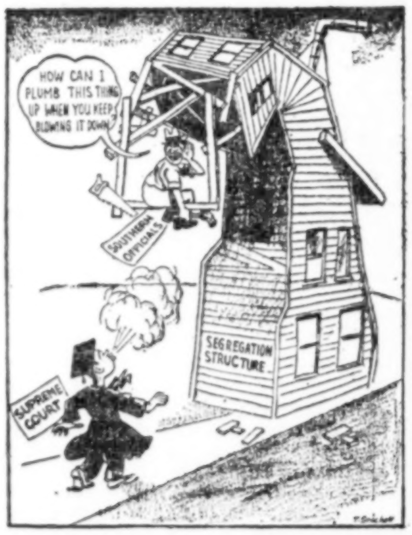
Other developments on the Southern "Freedom Battlefront" were these:

- Arrest of five Atlanta Negro ministers who sought to create a legal test case by violating the jimcrow transportation law.
- Bombing of a Negro home in a Beaumont, Tex., mixed neighborhood.
- Burning of three crosses and dynamiting a Negro home in Mobile.
- Beginning of a campaign in Tallahassee by Negro jimcrow bus boycotters to elect one of their leaders to the City Commission.
- Plans in New Orleans and Memphis to follow the example of Atlanta Negro ministers in establishing a basis for court action.

APPEAL TO PRESIDENT: Sixty Negro integration leaders from nine Southern states wound up a weekend Atlanta meeting by addressing a letter to President Eisenhower. It reminded him that "American citizens have been unjustly and brutally attacked at home" for peacefully demonstrating for their constitutional rights.

Declaring that "the maintenance of law and order in the nation finally rests . . . directly upon the President," the letter invited him to make a speech in a Southern city urging "Southerners to abide by the Supreme Court decisions" outlawing school and bus jimcrow.

The meeting also suggested that Atty. Gen. Brownell discuss with Southern Negroes the question of Federal responsibility in the attacks and asked that Vice President Nixon tour the South in behalf of oppressed Negroes as he recently toured abroad in behalf of Hungarian refugees.


HOW CAN I PLUMB THIS THING UP WHEN YOU KEEP BLOWING IT DOWN?
SOUTHERN OFFICIALS
SEGREGATION STRUCTURE
SUPREME COURT

Stockett in Afro-American, Baltimore
THAT $64,000 QUESTION

NEWSMAN ON TRIAL

Quaker librarian guilty of contempt in test of the First Amendment

MRS. MARY KNOWLES, Quaker librarian at Plymouth Meeting, Pa., was found guilty of contempt of Congress by Federal Judge Ross Rizley in Washington on Jan. 10. Sentencing was scheduled for Jan. 18.

Mrs. Knowles was first called before a Congressional investigating committee in Boston in 1953. At that time she invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions about her political beliefs and associations. Dismissed as a branch librarian at that time, she was later hired by the Quaker library. She was recalled by the Eastland committee last year and at that time based her refusal to answer on the First Amendment.

NEWSMEN FACE TRIAL: Mrs. Knowles was tried without a jury and did not take the stand in her own behalf. Maximum sentence for the charge is one year in jail or a $1,000 fine, or both.

Mrs. Knowles was indicted with five others on contempt of Congress charges last Nov. 26. Three of the others, Alden Whitman, Robert Shelton and Seymour Peck, were employees of the N.Y. **Times.** The others were William A. Price, a reporter then for the N.Y. **Daily News**, and Herman Liveright, a former program director for a New Orleans TV station. Shelton, who also had invoked the First Amendment, went on trial before Judge Rizley on Jan. 14. The other two **Times** men face trial later this month.

SLOCHOWER BACK: In New York, Dr. Harry Slochower, who was dismissed from Brooklyn College in 1952 for refusing to tell a Congressional committee if he had been a Communist in 1940 or 1941, was reinstated by court order on Jan. 5. Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, college president, told Slochower he was being reinstated only "for payroll purposes" and would be suspended again on other charges of "untruthfulness and perjury." As an associate professor of modern languages, Dr. Slochower collected more than $40,000 in back pay, interest and court costs. The Supreme Court ruled last April 9 that his dismissal was in violation of Constitutional guarantees of due process.

CP VETS APPEAL: Saul L. Wellman, Michigan Communist leader convicted under the Smith Act, on Jan. 4 lost an appeal to the Veterans Administration for restoration of his 50% disability pension of $62.57 a month. His pension was cut off under a challenged VA interpretation of his Smith Act conviction.

Robert Thompson, another Smith Act victim who also lost his VA pension, was the subject of an appeal last week to President Eisenhower for commutation of his sentence. Thompson has recently undergone major surgery to replace a plate in his head; he was slugged with an iron pipe by Alexander Pavlovich, a Yugoslav deportee, while being held in a Federal jail in New York City. Rowland Watts, former national secretary of the Workers Defense League and presently a staff counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, made the appeal to the President. He was Pavlovich's attorney at the time of the attack. Pavlovich is now serving a three-year sentence for assault.

Relax, folks!

While the number of business failures has been rising,, there are still just about as many concerns in existence.

Since everything else also is increasing—population, incomes, spending, production—the increased number of failures isn't too disturbing.

Los Angeles **Mirror-News**,
Dec. 31, 1956

Never a Dulles moment

TRUMAN'S Secretary of State Dean Acheson, testifying against the "Eisenhower Doctrine" before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, aimed the following charge of historical grapeshot across the bows of his successor, John Foster Dulles:

". . . A sense of unimpeachable rectitude is often a danger in so treacherous a field, certainly to others. [John] Lilburne [British political agitator of the seventeenth century] noted it in Oliver Cromwell.

"'You shall scarce speak to Cromwell about anything,' he wrote, 'but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record. He will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the fifth rib.'"

THE CLINTON STORY

One man's family

By Eugene Gordon

JO ANN ALLEN, late of Clinton, Tenn., now of Los Angeles, was among that small band of Negro teenagers who ran a daily gantlet of stones and rotten eggs to reach the newly integrated high school classroom in Clinton. She wants the world to know that she and her family "didn't run away from a fight."

With her parents, Herbert and Mrs. Josephine Allen, her sister Mamie, 12, and her baby brother Herbie, Jo Ann, 15, arrived in Los Angeles on Jan. 3. Nostalgic memories of friendly white and Negro neighbors on Clinton's Foley Hill sometimes break through the reality of life in their new home. CBS and NBC radio-TV reporters were interviewing the Allen family when reporters showed up from the Associated Negro Press. Jo Ann insisted on telling about "the good things" of Clinton first:

"There were a lot of good things. I was elected vice president of my room last August. Then there was the plane trip to Washington. I went with a white girl and her mother. We interviewed Atty. Gen. Brownell on TV. Two other girls and three boys were with us. The College Press Conference sponsored the trip."

THE AWFUL THINGS: The cameramen were busy reloading and Jo Ann talked about "the other things" in Clinton. "It was awful" when a rock barely missed her face one day. In the corridors the Negro students were "pushed and shoved" by some of the 40-odd members of the White Youth Council. "They threw wads of papers and eggs at us," she said. Most of the white students were different: "Some of the white girls were my friends. Some of the white boys, too."

In the street, up the long climb to the pleasant homes on Foley Hill, they were threatened by the parents of White Youth Council members. It was in the open that heavy rocks were hurled at the 12 Negro school children. Mrs. Allen said:

"We didn't leave altogether because of the segregation mess. People might think we were quitters, but if Herb had had a good job we might have stuck it out in Clinton."

THE ROOTS ARE TOUGH: Herbert Allen is 47 and a carpenter by trade; he used to work more or less regularly at the Oak Ridge atomic energy project. "But building just slackened off," he said, "and I had to think about how I could give my children better opportunities." His last work in Clinton was as a hospital orderly. He said:

"I never was afraid, except that maybe my wife and children would be bushwhacked. Hate was implanted in those white people when they were little children. The older they got and the bigger and deeper the roots, the harder to get rid of them. Now it hurts when anybody cuts at the roots."

Jo Ann remembered one of the "good things" which happened as a result of "the other things." Rev. Paul Turner, 33-year-old Baptist minister of Clinton's largest church, was a warm recollection. He was beaten up for escorting her and five companions back to school after a week's absence to insure "guarantees against abuses." She said he had been "our friend for a long time," and she will never forget the way he looked, lying on the ground with nose bashed and face bruised, after he had walked "down the hill with us to show the people that not everybody is against integration."

THEIR BACKGROUND: Mrs. Allen was born 42 years ago into a farm-owning family near Oliver Springs, Tenn. Herbert Allen was born at Luvern, Ala., and had lived in Clinton since 1932. One of their fondest recollections is of being married by the Rev. Paul Simms, a Methodist minister, "just such a white man," Mrs. Allen said, "as Rev. Turner." She was president of Clinton's Negro PTA.

JO ANN ALLEN

There were good things—and awful ones too

Her brother, Samuel W. Harper, was graduated from Knoxville (Tenn.) College and was the first Roan County Negro military officer and Air Corps pilot in World War II. Mustered out, he went to U.C.L.A. for an M.A. in mathematics. His seven years as head counsellor of Los Angeles' David Starr Jordan High School favored Jo Ann when she went to register at Dorsey High. She hopes to be a physician.

THEY'D DO IT AGAIN: In Clinton, meanwhile, parents of the nine Negro children remaining in the integrated high school wear their victory laurels modestly. They are quietly proud of their success, agreeing that it came only after a hard struggle. One told a reporter: "Remember, we have to go on living here. Besides, most of our white neighbors are decent people." Nearly all of Foley Hill's Negro residents agree they would endure the torture of anxiety through a second struggle if necessary.

Negro boys and girls still attending the jimcrow Green-McAdoo Elementary School express mixed feelings about the future. Eighth-grader Nevie J. Barton, for instance, will yield to his parents' wish that he live with relatives in Knoxville and go to the all-Negro Vine Junior High. Ronald Hayden, a classmate, thinks "the best thing to do" is to stay in Clinton and to finish at its integrated high school.

COUNCIL IS QUIET: Some will go elsewhere because their parents are "done with" Clinton. Jo Ann White, a year younger than Jo Ann Allen and an eighth-grader, wants to study medicine. She will live with her parents in Knoxville.

The two wings of the White Citizens Council—the adult and junior—and the Ku Klux Klan are temporarily quiet. Seventeen of their members were arrested on contempt warrants and charged with "a deliberate and persistent campaign against school officials" and violence against law-abiding persons. Their hearing was postponed indefinitely last week by Federal Judge Robert Taylor. Clinton High's 700 students—minus the 40-odd White Youth Council members—have joined the faculty in a resolution supporting "law and order" in their town.

FRONTAL ASSAULT BY SOUTHERN STATES

NAACP gains members in face of attacks

FOR THE FIRST TIME in its 49 years the NAACP is being directly attacked —as an organized body— through state legal and legislative action. In spite of these moves against it, however, America's largest civil rights organization last year reached its highest point in members and money. Membership rose by 40,000.

Last March Louisiana proceeded against the NAACP under an unused 1924 anti-Ku Klux Klan law requiring all organizations—except churches—to file membership lists. NAACP branches refused, pleading that they feared reprisals. The state attorney general in April crippled the branches with injunctions. In New Orleans, Shreveport, Lake Charles and Baton Rouge the branches submitted the names but managed to limp along.

Alabama's attorney general last June enjoined the NAACP from operating there; a local judge fined it $100,000 for withholding its membership list.

Then in Texas, after a 25-day hearing, the NAACP was outlawed as a "foreign" agency which allegedly had failed to pay certain taxes.

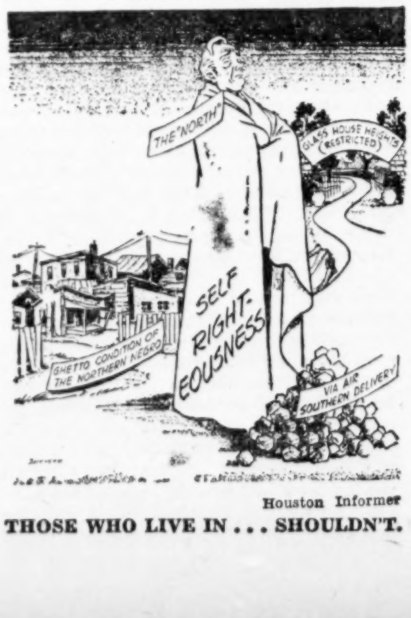
GEORGIA AND VIRGINIA: Toward the year's end, Georgia declared that the NAACP "may be liable" for payment of income taxes. Atlanta police jailed branch president John E. Calhoun until he agreed to hand over all financial documents for state-revenue inspection.

Virginia's General Assembly, in a September special session, handed up a package deal of seven laws prohibiting:

- Any challenge of racial discrimination or segregation in the courts by the NAACP or a lawyer retained by it.
- Advocacy of racial integration.
- An approach to any state lawmaker urging legislation "in behalf of any race or color."

A DANGEROUS INVASION: NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins said in his annual report Jan. 7:

"These attacks, restricting freedom of speech, assembly, petition, redress of grievances in the courts, and even freedom of thought, illustrate that the attempt to enforce racial inequality has entered dangerously into the area of civil liberties, in violation of the Bill of Rights. This invasion of individual liberties has extended beyond the assaults on the NAACP as an organized body. Southern white citizens who have dared to express an opinion contrary to the popular view have been subjected to intimidation and loss of employment. Among these victims have been ministers, school teachers, college professors, and others, including a newspaper editor in S. Carolina forced to announce that desegregation would no longer be discussed in his editorial columns."


THE "NORTH"
GLASS HOUSE HEIGHTS (RESTRICTED)
SELF RIGHT-EOUSNESS
GHETTO CONDITION OF THE NORTHERN NEGRO
VIA AIR SOUTHERN DELIVERY

Houston Informer

THOSE WHO LIVE IN . . . SHOULDN'T.

If Southern whites of "moderate" views "are being denied their fundamental liberties as Americans by legislative action such as in Virginia, by administrative procedures as in Georgia and by extra-legal activities of pressure groups," Wilkins said, Southern Negroes conversely are not being intimidated "by economic reprisals, threats of violence, or violence itself." Nor have they been deterred by restrictive legislation or punitive court action.

THEY CARRY ON: Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes, unified by more than a year of non-cooperating with a jimcrow bus system, demonstrated that where the NAACP is outlawed its program of emancipation can go on. Birmingham Negroes set up the Christian Movement for Human Rights and continued in the tradition of the outlawed NAACP.

Persecution of the NAACP and defiance and evasion of U.S. Supreme and local Federal Courts' rulings have stimulated financial and moral support. The NAACP's operating fund by last Dec. 21 had received a total of $682,906, highest in history—$48,000 more than in 1955. Membership fees from branches accounted for $364,300, an increase of $57,000 over the 1955 period. An analysis of last year's income shows that some $585,000 of the $682,906 came from 350,000 members.

The NAACP expects that by 1963, centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, the Negro people "will be closer to their goal of first-class citizenship in all walks of life."

Call Auntie first

WHAT TO DO with your car when there is no gas? Store it. A numbert of car owners thought of hocking their cars as if they were ordinary watches. It was a good idea because they could pick up a bit of money while waiting for better days.

But too many people thought of it.

"My Aunt" (otherwise known as the Paris municipal pawnbroker) has issued the following communique: "The possibilities of storing furniture and cars at Branch No. 2, 7 Rue Duranti, are at present limited, and prospective borrowers are advised to check in advance by telephoning Roq. 96-97."

L'Humanite (11/12/56), Paris

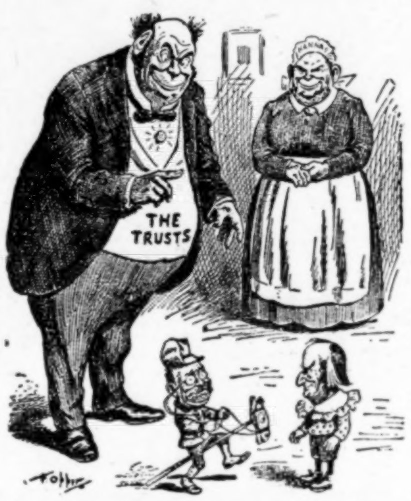
WHAT RANDOLPH BOURNE WROTE 40 YEARS AGO

The real rulers of America

Randolph S. Bourne was one of the most trenchant literary radicals in the second decade of this century. His time must thus be circumscribed because he died at the peak of his power at the age of 32, a victim of the flu epidemic of 1918. An early disciple of John Dewey, his opposition to World War I led him to join the radical movement. Bourne's History of a Literary Radical *(1920), edited by Van Wyck Brooks, showed his stature as a philosopher and critic. The following excerpt (first of three) was taken from an unfinished Bourne essay on the state in his* Untimely Papers *(1919). The essay's applicability to the present American political scene is striking.*

FROM THE CIVIL WAR to the death of Mark Hanna, the propertied capitalist industrial classes ran a triumphal career in possession of the State. At various times, as in 1896, the country had to be saved for them from disillusioned, rebellious hordes of small farmers and traders and democratic idealists, who had in the overflow of prosperity been squeezed down into the small end of the horn. But except for these occasional menaces, business, that is to say, aggressive expansionist capitalism, had nearly 40 years in which to direct the American republic as a private preserve, or laboratory, experimenting, developing, wasting, subjugating, to its heart's content, in the midst of a vast somnolence of complacency such as has never been seen and contrasts strangely with the spiritual dissent and constructive revolutionary thought which went on at the same time in England and the Continent.

That era ended in 1904 like the crack of doom, which woke a whole people into a modern day which they had far overslept, and for which they had no guiding principles or philosophy to conduct them about. They suddenly became acutely and painfully aware of the evils of the society in which they had slumbered and they snatched at one after the other idea, program, movement, ideal, to uplift them out of the slough in which they had slept. The glory of those shining figures—captains of industry—went out in a sulphuric gloom. The head of the State, who made up in dogmatism what he lacked in philosophy, increased the confusion by reviving the Ten Commandments for political purposes, and belaboring the wicked with them. The American world tossed in a state of doubt, of reawakened social conscience, of pragmatic effort for the salvation of society. The ruling classes—annoyed, bewildered, harassed—pretended with much bemoaning that they were losing their grip on the State. Their inspired prophets uttered solemn warnings against political novelty and the abandonment of the tried and tested fruits of experience.



AN F. OPPER CARTOON OF 1900
The trust introduces little Willie McKinley to his new playmate Teddy Roosevelt

THESE CLASSES actually had little to fear. A political system which had been founded in the interests of property by their own spiritual and economic ancestors, which had become ingrained in the country's life through a function of 120 years, which was buttressed by a legal system which went back without a break to the early English monarchy was not likely to crumble before the anger of a few muck-rakers, the disillusionment of a few radical sociologists, or the assaults of the proletarian minorities. Those who bided their time through the Taft interregnum, which merely continued the Presidency until there could be found a statesman to fill it, were rewarded by the appearance of the exigency of a war, in which business organization was imperatively needed. They were thus able to make a neat and almost noiseless coalition with the Government. The mass of the worried middle-classes, riddled by the campaign against American failings, which at times extended almost to a skepticism of the American State itself, were only too glad to sink back to a glorification of the State ideal, to feel about them in war, the old protecting arms, to return to the old primitive robust sense of the omnipotence of the State, its matchless virtue, honor and beauty, driving away all the foul old doubts and dismays.

That the same class which imposed its constitution on the nascent proletarian and agrarian democracy has maintained itself to this day indicates how slight was the real effect of the Revolution. When that political change was consolidated in the new government, it was found that there had been a mere transfer of ruling-class power across the seas, or rather that a ruling commercial class in the colonies had been able to remove through a war fought largely by the masses a vexatious over-lordship of the irresponsible coterie of ministers that surrounded George III. The colonies merely exchanged a system run in the interest of the overseas trade of English wealth for a system run in the interest of the New England and Philadelphia merchanthood, and later of Southern slavocracy. The daring innovation of getting rid of a king and setting up a kingless State did not apparently impress the hard-headed farmers and small traders with as much force as it has their patriotic defenders. The animus of the Convention was so obviously monarchical that any executive they devised could be only a very thinly disguised king. The compromise by which the presidency was created proved but to be the means by which very nearly the whole mass of traditional royal prerogatives was brought over and lodged in the new State.

THE PRESIDENT is an elected king, but the fact that he is elected has proved to be of far less significance in the course of political evolution than the fact that he is pragmatically a king. It was the intention of the founders of the Constitution that he be elected by a small body of notables, representing the ruling propertied classes. This was no innovation. Kings have often been selected in this way in European history, and the Roman Emperor was regularly chosen by election. That the American President's term was limited merely shows the confidence which the founders felt in the buttressing force of their instrument. His election would never pass out of the hands of the notables, and so the office would be guaranteed to be held by a faithful representative of upper-class demands. What he was most obviously to represent was the interests of that body which elected him, and not the mass of the people who were still disfranchised. For the new State started with no Quixotic belief in universal suffrage. The property qualifications which were in effect in every colony were continued. Government was frankly a function of those who held a concrete interest in the public weal, in the shape of visible property. The responsibility for the security of property rights could safely lie only with those who had something to secure. The "stake" in the commonwealth which those who held office must possess was obviously larger.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT
Meat, potatoes and little else

NEXT WEEK: The party leaders take over.

LONGSHORE UNION ON ELECTIONS

Till a new party is formed...

Following is a "Statement of Policy on the National Elections" issued by the Int'l Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Executive Board following a meeting on Jan. 3-4.

IF THE NOVEMBER elections showed anything, they showed that the American people are a lot wiser politically than most of the experts credit them with being. All over the country voters crossed party lines and split tickets to confound the politicians, and those labor leaders who claim to have the vote of the workingman, or of this or that minority group, in their pockets.

Since 1932 the Democratic Party and the labor leaders wedded to it have followed the line that if they could hold the South—even if this meant compromising on civil rights—then with the big industrial cities of the North, they could win a national election. But just the opposite proved true in 1952 and again in 1956.

By holding the South the Democratic Party lost the industrial cities and the national election as well. And so long as the party continues as it now is, based on the reactionary Southern vote, it will never elect a President. Nor on the other hand will its "automatic" majority in House and Senate accomplish any more than the backward Southern congressmen and senators are ready to agree to. The South, long the stronghold of the Democratic party, has now become its kiss of death.

Meanwhile those Democratic candidates who were most disassociated from the national party and its commitments, who took a stand on issues close to the needs of the people in their states, were elected despite President Eisenhower's landslide.

Eisenhower himself, sensing that the American people are anxious for peace and are concerned above all else with extending our democracy and economic security at home, had little difficulty being re-elected on his record and his promises.

As far as the ILWU is concerned, the union everywhere entered into the campaign with vigor and skill. In Hawaii the mobilization of the rank and file was the best ever, and the union marked up a remarkable record on the candidates of both parties it endorsed. In Washington, the ILWU played a key role in helping defeat the right-to-work initiative; in Oregon and California both men and issues were supported; irrespective of party label, where the membership judged them best for labor. Certainly the membership and the local union officials are to be congratulated on a job well done. Everywhere the union made new friends and expanded its community-wide influence.

Despite these achievements the members of the ILWU recognize that not until a party of labor and farmers and small business people is formed in our country, and not until men and women off the job are elected into public office by the vote of the working people, can we realistically hope to have a national program in the best interest of the majority of the people of the United States. Our efforts in all political activities should always hold out this perspective of a farmer-labor party, otherwise we will deceive ourselves and mislead and discourage those who still look to this union for leadership and guidance.

ROSENBERG WITNESS

Gold challenged by Eastman Kodak

EASTMAN KODAK CO. of Rochester, N.Y., has punctured the latest of the tall tales of Harry Gold, government witness whose testimony helped send Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair and chemist Alfred Dean Slack to prison for 15 years for espionage. In 1955 a jury in Dayton, O., refused to believe another of Gold's tales and acquitted a Cincinnati man whom Gold sought to enmesh in an espionage intrigue. Gold is serving 30 years in Lewisburg Penitentiary for self-proclaimed feats of espionage.

The Eastman Kodak Co., in a story in the Rochester **Times Union** Dec. 7, challenged testimony given by Gold last spring before the Eastland Committee that he had obtained important secret aerial-photographic process information during World War II from Slack, a former Eastman-Kodak chemist.

Noting that Gold's comments were "not clear technically", the Eastman Kodak spokesman said that if Gold was referring to Kodak color aero film, basic information was available to anyone via public literature or in published patent form. The spokesman concluded:

"To the best of our knowledge, classified information was not stolen from Kodak during the war."

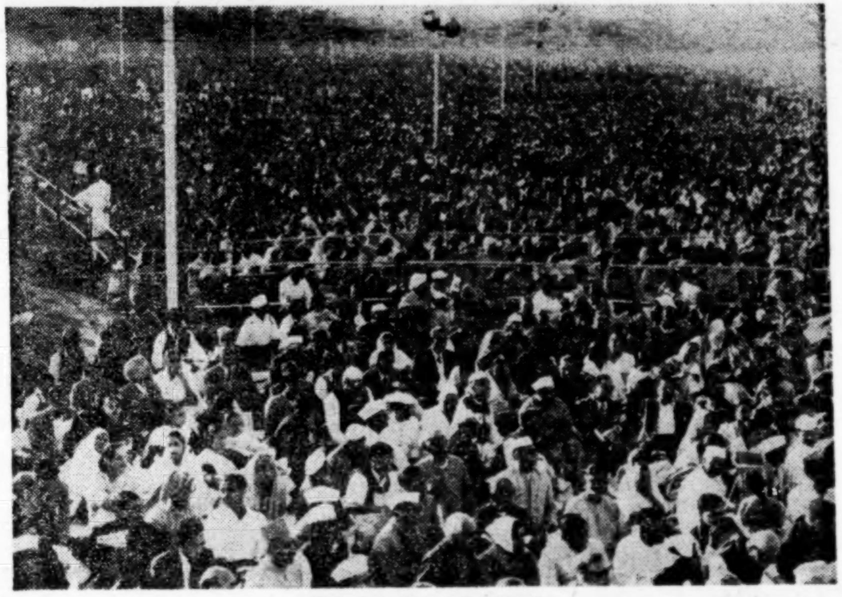
BOOKS

India and China out of focus

By Kumar Goshal

THE YEARS following 1947 have been among the most dramatic years in India's colorful history. During this time Britain partitioned the subcontinent into the two dominions of India and Pakistan, before handing over power to the respective dominion governments. A period of chaos and Hindu-Moslem violence flared up, leaving behind bitter memories even after they subsided. The Nehru government gradually restored order, launched its first five-year plan in 1951, began to play an important role in Asian and world affairs—especially in trying to relax world tensions and peacefully settle international conflicts.

N. Y. **Times** correspondent Robert Trumbull spent seven and a half years in India, from 1947 to 1955. Many of his dispatches revealed a perceptive mind and objective approach. His reports on India's first democratic, parliamentary elections in 1952—involving the largest electorate that ever participated in such an election—were particularly noteworthy. It is disappointing to find that his book, **As I See India***, contains none of the insight displayed in his dispatches.



THE PEOPLE OF INDIA
At a reception for Bulganin and Khrushchev in 1955

SINCE INDIA became free, there have been enough exciting events to fill a book without glancing back to the period of British rule. Trumbull, however, has felt impelled not only to refer to the past but distort past history and praise the British Raj.

Thus, in referring to India's first war of independence (known in British history books as the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857), Trumbull has written: "It may be fortunate for India that it did not succeed, for a long period of backwardness and internecine warfare might have ensued, instead of which the British in the following ninety years fostered the building of the modern state that India is today." Without presenting the slightest evidence, Trumbull has packed in one sentence a lot of material which is, to say the least, highly speculative and controversial.

He has gone out of his way to praise "the proud record of the British in India" and has characterized the transfer of power as the culmination of the "early" British pledge that "Britain's crowning achievement in the East would be the transfer of government to a worthy Indian state"—as though all the Indians had to do to be free was to demonstrate their administrative ability. In his references to the past, Trumbull has cited no instances of India's dramatic struggle for freedom.

TO MAKE his narrative colorful Trumbull has devoted a vast amount of space to the social and sporting activities of the rapidly vanishing Indian princes and has only sketchily recorded the ordinary people's intense activities for economic, social and political betterment. Every aspect of Indian life described in the book has been geared, in fact, to what the author undoubtedly considers "colorful personalities."

One particular incident Trumbull has described reveals a peculiar characteristic of American correspondents and the reason why some foreign governments seem to be wary of them.

When Peking was trying to reestablish its authority in Tibet in 1950, Trumbull sent "a quixotic telegram" to the Tibetan Regent that he and some of his friends "were extremely sympathetic to the plight of the Dalai Lama," that they had "an airplane with an experienced Himalayan pilot that was capable of bringing out the young god-king, and of course the Regent himself, and other selected personages and possessions to the limit of the plane's carrying capacity." Fortunately the plan came to nothing, as Indian officials on the Tibetan border intercepted the message and prudently advised the Lama against the project.

It is a pity that Trumbull has failed to fulfill the promise he showed as a reporter. With a wealth of intense human interest material available to him, he has produced only a glorified version of a Burton Holmes travelogue.

AS I SEE INDIA, by Robert Trumbull. William Sloane Associates, N. Y., 249 pp, plus index. $4.

• • •

Whose dilemma?

TO MOST ASIANS and some Europeans it has long been glaringly evident that the United Nations has been seriously handicapped by the lack of Chinese representation. Anyone interested in lessening international tensions would certainly welcome a solution of this problem.

In **The UN and the China Dilemma***, David Brook, now studying at Columbia University for his Ph.D. in public law and government, has tackled this problem largely in terms of the "criteria and procedure" of the UN Charter and their possible modification.

In his introduction Brook acknowledges that "the heat generated during the debates" on Chinese representation in the UN "has threatened to burn an irreparable hole in the fabric of world security." He deplores the consequent "hatreds and innuendos [that] have poisoned the atmosphere in the UN's meetings." But then he himself goes beyond innuendos to outright distortion with a far-too-rapid survey of "The Chinese Revolution and its Aftermath."

In this survey, Chiang Kai-shek gets a complete whitewash. The deterioration of his position during World War II is attributed to "war conditions." The development of "corrupt practices" among Chiang's officials is said to be due to "inflationary pressures" caused by "wartime expenditures." Chiang is credited with ushering an "era of constitutionalism" in 1947.

CHIANG'S DEFEAT and flight to Formosa and the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic is described in one paragraph. Brook concludes that three factors "dominate Chinese Communist policy. They can be termed **unfriendliness to the West, alliance with the Soviet Union and expansion in Asia.** In pursuance of these objectives, the Chinese government in Peking has not hesitated to break international agreements, disregard the principles of international law and actually commit overt agression [and] may again embark on aggressive policies." Brook adds: "This is the government that now seeks entrance into the UN as the rightful government of China."

After establishing to his own satisfaction that the Peking government is dictatorial, Brook discusses the criteria and procedure of the UN Charter regarding membership. He finds that, while the Charter has rules for admission of new states, it provides none in respect to the representation of governments. He therefore suggests that the UN Secretary General be empowered to set up a permanent panel of international jurists who would give binding judgments on questions such as Chinese representation in the UN.

IN HIS DISCUSSION of the UN debates on the China issue, Brook concentrates exclusively on the opposite positions taken by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. He fails to mention the leading role played by the Asians—especially by the Indians—in urging UN recognition of Peking. He also neglects to say how the panel of jurists could be set up with Moscow and Washington at loggerheads, since it would require an amendment to the Charter approved by a two-thirds majority as well as by the five permanent Security Council members.

Brook concedes that his proposed panel of jurists will be unable to solve the China issue because of its highly controversial, political nature. A setttlement, he feels, "would have to be arrived at through the traditional methods of diplomacy, namely, negotiation and mediation." Unfortunately, he has contributed little to the sober appraisal of reality necessary for the success of such negotiation and mediation.

THE U.N. AND THE CHINA DILEMMA, by David Brook. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31st St., N. Y. 1. 87 pp. $2.50.

Up front

WHERE ONE SITS on a bus has nothing to do with segregation. Racial segregation is requiring that members of a certain racial group sit in a specified area.

In the South the custom has been that Negroes sit in the rear of vehicles, but Negroes could have been just as effectively segregated had they been required to sit along the left side of the bus or fill up from the front to the back.

Having come to regard the rear seats of a bus as a symbol of racial inferiority, Negroes may inadvertently segregate themselves by studiously avoiding the rear and riding regularly up front.

This would force whites to sit in the rear and reinstitute jimcrow but with reverse pattern.

The Southern whites who set up regulations for jimcrow have always been stupid. And one of their most stupid acts was to designate the rear of the bus for Negroes.

Negroes, to get to the rear of a vehicle, are forced to walk from the front, after they have paid their fare, to the back. En route they brush up against the "superior" whites, squeeze between them if the bus is crowded and tread on their feet if they're not careful.

In bad weather the front of the bus is a quagmire caused by the wet, muddy feet of not only the whites, who have to stand in it, but the Negroes, as well.

By the time Negroes have arrived at their designated area on the bus, all the dirt and mud has been deposited in the front of the vehicle and they either stand or sit in relative comfort though jimcrowed.

It would have brought much more discomfort to Negroes had they been required to sit up front; and the effect, so far as segregation is concerned, would have been the same.

Who wants to sit on the front seat, by the door, where, every time the bus stops to take on a passenger, you're blasted by the cold winds of winter, sprayed by spring rains or choked by summer dust?

The antipathy of Southern Negroes to the rear of a bus is quite apparent when they come North, where there is no bus jimcrow. Regardless of conditions, they refuse to go to the rear, to the consternation of the bus driver. He may not understand, unless he, too, is a Negro, that they are simply exercising a privilege long denied them.

Segregation, as we all know, is not only stupid in principle but is invariably stupid in the form it takes. But stupid or not, we are now witnessing the end of an era, an end that is being hastened by intelligent, forthright Negro effort and by sympathetic cooperation from all right-thinking people.

—Enoc P. Waters
in the Chicago **Defender.**

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OUR SORRY RECORD IN ASIA IS A WARNING

Alternatives to Ike's 'doctrine'

By Kumar Goshal

SOME American newspaper pundits have found in the "Eisenhower Doctrine" a subtle approach never before displayed by the Administration. They say the President and Secy. Dulles have emphasized the military aspect of their Middle East policy only as a camouflage to get Congressional approval of increased economic aid. (This is on the theory that Congress in the past has approved military aid abroad with alacrity but has balked at shelling out for non-military aid.)

"The President now proposes," the N.Y. **Times** said (1/6), "to extend to the Middle East the methods evolved in the Far East and Southeast Asia." Looking back to such U.S. military alliances as SEATO, the **Times** found them to be a blend of arms aid to Washington's allies and an "'Arc of Free Asia' economic aid program." Economic aid to the Middle East, the **Times** concluded, "will be the centerpiece of the foreign aid program the Administration submits to Congress in 1957."

A SORRY RECORD: The record of Washington's economic aid to Asians whom it has drawn or tried to draw into its orbit hardly supports the **Times'** conclusion.

Both Pakistan and Thailand, for example, have bitterly complained of lack of U.S. economic aid. Speaking in San Francisco last Dec. 30, Pedro Padilla, an aid to Philippine President Magsaysay, strongly criticized the U.S. foreign aid program. Padilla said: "The U.S. has consigned more financial aid to Japan, a former enemy, than she has granted to the Philippines, a traditional ally."

Cambodia, a country the U.S. has been ardently courting, has turned to China for economic assistance because "U.S. aid has been mostly military" (**Times, 12/1-56**). More than 75% of U.S. aid to its Asian allies, in fact, has been military; and much of the rest has been spent on projects related to the military.

OKINAWA EXAMPLE: Okinawa furnishes the most startling example of Washington's benevolence. In this largest of the Ryukyu Islands the U.S. has had the best opportunity to demonstrate the benefits of its economic aid, since Okinawa has been under American rule for over a decade.

U.S. military forces have already taken over 21% of the island's arable land and plan to acquire 6% more. Landowners bitterly oppose this move, demand long-term rentals instead of the lump sum paid by the armed forces, which also decides the amount to be paid.

U.S. military personnel live luxuriously. At the military bases, American civilian employees are paid $1.06 to $6.31 an hour, Filipinos 40c to $1.64, Japanese 20 to 30c and Okinawans 8 to 20c. According to the Japanese Civil Liberties Union, which has protested against U.S. treatment of Okinawans, an Okinawan family of five needs $63.61 a month to live. It is estimated that 80% of those who work at the U.S. military bases lost their land to the U.S. forces.

HALF A BILLION: On Dec. 26 Okinawans overwhelmingly elected Kamejiro Senaga as mayor of Naha, the island capital. Senaga had campaigned for the restoration of the Ryukyus to Japan and for the elimination of American bases. A former newspaperman, he was jailed for two years in 1954 for "giving false evidence" about "harboring a criminal." The sentence brought strong protest and bloody prison riots. On his release last April he was greeted by a large, cheering crowd and later that night by 6,000 more Okinawans.

ARAB PLOWMEN SOW THEIR FIELDS IN THE ISRAELI-OCCUPIED GAZA STRIP

Camels provide the power for the crude plows guided by farm hands. The sowing followed a long drought.

Although the U.S. has spent $500,000,000 in building the island base, the population has been reduced to poverty, hunger and unemployment. The 800,000 Ryukyuans, the **Times** reported (12/27/56), favored "reversion of the islands to Japanese rule." "In our treatment of the Okinawan people," Helen Mears wrote in **The Nation** (11/10/56), "our government is giving a demonstration of the American Way in practice in Asia. It is not a demonstration likely to gain friends for us in that part of the world."

WHAT THEY WANT: On the basis of past performance, the "Eisenhower Doctrine" would seem to offer little to the Middle Eastern nations. Yet these nations would welcome economic aid for fruitful ventures—if it comes through acceptable channels.

"Moderate Arab leaders," the N.Y. **World-Telegram** reported (1/5), "are urging bold plans to save the Middle East from disaster." These leaders are recommending "a security belt between the Arab countries and Israel [and] a redistribution of oil wealth to provide the money" for developing a modern economy.

The Lebanese industrialist Emile Bustani, for example, has suggested that oil profits, now shared 50-50 by Western companies and Middle Eastern potentates, be split 45-45, with the remaining 10% going into a reserve fund to be administered by a UN-sponsored development bank. Arab nations would draw on this fund for economic modernization projects. Bustani, who has often held high positions in Lebanon's government, is said to be supported by other Arab leaders.

IF IT'S GENUINE: While they vary in degree, the dominant popular feelings in the Middle East are (1) a desire for national independence; (2) freedom from a colonial economy based upon one export product (oil); (3) raising of living standards from their present appallingly low level; (4) a refusal to remain as pawns in the Western game of intrigue and power politics, to which many of their rulers have become willing tools; (5) a determination to stay clear of power blocs. Irrespective of the character of the Nasser regime, Egypt's dream of building the Aswan Dam and its nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. fired the imagination of the entire Arab world because they reflected popular feelings accurately.

In sober reaction to the Eisenhower plan, the Cairo daily **Egyptian Gazette**, according to the **Christian Science Monitor** (1/8), said: "The Middle East as a whole needs to take advantage of every possible means for improving the economic standards of its people." While the Arabs are willing to accept genuine economic aid from the U.S., the **Gazette** said, however, that they would reject such assistance if in return they had to adhere "to plans of military cooperation which made them willy-nilly instruments of U.S. strategy against Russia or other nations."

THE ALTERNATIVES: The Eisenhower plan fulfills none of the requirements for peace in the Middle East. In practice, its military aspect would only provoke an arms race in that region; its promises of economic aid would turn out to be bribes to those who would support U.S. foreign policy and help maintain American control of the Middle Eastern oil resources.

There has been no lack of alternative proposals for Middle East peace. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, for example, has suggested channeling all economic aid to the Middle East through the UN, and a Washington-Moscow agreement to bar the sale of arms to Middle Eastern nations. In a similar vein the London **New Statesman & Nation** (1/5) has suggested an arms embargo on the Middle East organized through the UN.

The **New Statesman** recalled that Marshal Bulganin last April circulated a note calling for a general arms embargo on the Middle East, which the Western powers ignored. It urged that the offer be taken up now. Moscow, of course, might also ask for the dissolution of the Baghdad Pact; but the pact is practically dead, and its dissolution would in any case be a cheap price to pay for preventing an arms race, thereby tranquilizing the Middle East.

ISRAEL'S POSITION: This should also offer Israel some security. For, while the present tense situation makes it impossible to persuade Israeli and Arab leaders to sit down to a peace conference, Israel's demonstration of military strength—barring any further increase in arms to the Arabs—should help maintain an equilibrium for the present.

The Administration can demonstrate its sincerity by supporting the Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), unanimously backed by the Asian-Africans and other underdeveloped nations. It can help promote comprehensive regional planning through the UN Technical Assistance Agency. The underdeveloped nations have often indicated their preference for securing aid through the UN in order to avoid political or military obligations to any power bloc.

With all its shortcomings, the UN still offers the best avenue for reaching a solution to Middle East problems. "It is a passionate desire of Asians—or Arabs or Africans—to be regarded on a basis of full human equality," Barbara Ward, formerly on the staff of the London **Economist**, wrote in the N.Y. **Times Magazine** (12/30/56). "Yet poverty and technical backwardness stand in their way." They need capital aid, she said; but, if the aid "is to have its full effect," it should be channeled through the UN, "the one organization which fulfills Asia's desire for recognized national equality."

Disarmament

(Continued from Page 1)

however, some delegates see a chance to reach a basis for agreement as a result of Assembly discussion. Their optimism, which derives in part from the fluidity of the world situation, has been only partly dimmed by the proclamation of the so-called Eisenhower "doctrine" for the Middle East.

To many, the most significant development is the discussion apparently going on in Washington about the possibility of a joint reduction and/or withdrawal of Soviet and U.S. troops from Germany and from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. During the UN's recently resumed debate on Hungary, the U.S.S.R.'s delegate Kuznetsov pointed out:

"The U.S.S.R. has repeatedly proposed to the Western powers that foreign troops stationed on the territory of European states should be withdrawn or at least in a first stage reduced and has brought this proposal to the attention of the Assembly. However, those representatives who have spoken here in favor of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary have not said a single word about the constructive Soviet proposal."

Although this question has been ignored by the U.S. and its allies at the UN, Washington reports suggest that the idea, which not long ago was unmentionable and virtually subversive, has at last attained the status of respectability.

A FIRST STEP: First hint that something of the sort might be under tentative discussion in Washington's inner circles came in a United Press dispatch the day before the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt. This dispatch quoted Belgrade sources to the effect that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. were working toward an agreement on Eastern Europe as the first step of a program looking toward an overall settlement. In early December, the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported from Washington that the U.S. would be ready to withdraw from W. Germany as part of a general agreement providing for a Soviet withdrawal from E. Germany and involving the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In mid-December, following Stassen's not-for-attribution press briefing about his disarmament proposals, many newspapers published reports suggesting that joint troop withdrawals from Germany were part of the plan.

These reports so disturbed W. German Chancellor Adenauer that he prepared a

(Continued on Page 9)

The Soviet disarmament proposal

Following is the Soviet disarmament proposal of Nov. 17, 1956:

1. Reduction within one year of Soviet, U.S. and Chinese forces to 2,500,000 each; within two years to 1,000,000 or 1,500,000.
2. Ban on use and production of A- and H-weapons and destruction of all existing stockpiles, with a halt in nuclear weapons tests as a first step.
3. Reduction during 1957 of U.S., British, French and Soviet troops in Germany and also in NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.
4. Liquidation in two years of all military bases on foreign soil.
5. Setting up of ground control points in various countries.
6. Holding of a disarmament conference including the U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and India.
7. Willingness to consider use of aerial photography as part of an inspection system 500 miles in each direction from the East-West dividing line in Europe.

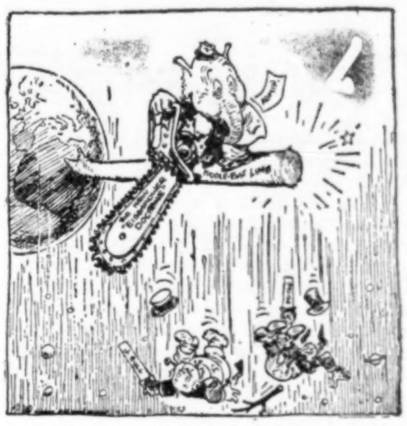
Disarmament

(Continued from Page 8)

hasty visit to Washington. He was, however, quickly "reassured" and, on Dec. 19, James Reston (N.Y. **Times**) reported a division in the Administration between those who still cling to the positions of the cold war (including Dulles, he said) and those who, in the light of events in Poland and Hungary, advocate that the U.S. "at least explore the possibility of a concurrent withdrawal or reduction of U.S. troops in W. Germany and a withdrawal or reduction of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe."

"DANGEROUS SIGNS": Involved in this "crucial debate," according to the N.Y. **World-Telegram's** top foreign policy writers Ludwell Denny and R. H. Shackford (1/2), are "the White House and all government departments." They noted that Secy. Dulles "has made statements that could be used by both sides but meanwhile he avoids commitment"; and they found "dangerous signs" that the trend is in the direction of a "new appeasement policy."

These reports unquestionably exaggerate the extent to which such a new policy is being seriously considered. Reston is surely correct in saying that U.S. officials "are still in the phase of realizing that the assumptions on which U.S. and Soviet policy were based in Eastern Europe in the past have proved unfounded." U.S. moves in the direction of a new policy have been lacking except for a few token gestures.



Holland in Chicago Tribune

Now I'll show you boys how it should be done.

One such, for instance, was its agreement for broad talks with Poland involving, among other things, a loan to finance Polish purchases of U.S. agricultural surpluses and release of Polish funds frozen by the U.S. Treasury. Agreement on these questions would be of crucial importance to Poland but it remains to be seen whether the U.S. will attach political or verbal strings which will make agreement impossible. Meanwhile, Radio Free Europe is urging all Poles to cross out the top three names on their ballots in the Jan. 20 elections. The top three are Communist candidates.

HUNGARY DEBATE: U.S. insistence that the UN once again debate Hungary and set up an investigating committee to hear testimony of refugees and others indicates that the "Project X" side of U.S. policy is still operating. Even some Western delegates privately admit they are weary of this question and voted for the committee only in the hope it would let the whole affair die out.

Others saw in the committee plan "the machinery to keep the Hungarian tragedy constantly before the eyes of the world for weeks—indeed for months—to come" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 1/12). In the debate the Polish delegation asserted that the situation in Hungary had become stabilized.

At UN, it is sometimes remarked that the U.S. has five or six foreign ministers (John Foster Dulles, Central Intelligence Agency head Allen Dulles, Vice President Nixon, UN delegate Henry C. Lodge, Undersecretary of State Herter, to name but a few), and as many conflicting policies. The contradictions between the suggestions that some in Washington may be beginning to realize the implications of the atomic stalemate, and the Eisenhower "doctrine" for the Middle East are blatant. The "doctrine" policy is a policy of cold war, however fuzzily formulated, a policy designed to tighten and extend the U.S. hold on the Middle East by military and other means.

TOTTERING ALLIANCE: Proclamation of the "doctrine" was quickly followed by invitations to visit Washington extended to King Saud of Saudi Arabia and Crown Prince Abdul Ilah of Iraq—moves designed to isolate Egypt and Syria and force them into Washington's domain.

The more aggressive U.S. policy in the Middle East has deepened the crisis in Washington's relations with its allies Britain and France, a crisis underlined when the U.S. "forced Eden out in the most humiliating way," (Max Lerner, N.Y. **Post** 1/12). The coming Assembly debate on Algeria will inevitably make new difficulties in the Western alliance since no one expects the U.S. to give France all-out backing on this issue. In both Britain and France the belief is growing that the U.S. will in time negotiate directly with the U.S.S.R. for a "global settlement."

WHAT IS OUR POLICY? In attempting to weigh the trends in U.S. policy, however, it is well to remember a point made by Joseph C. Harsch (**CSM, 1/9**):

"It cannot be said today that the U.S. has a consistent, coherent, articulated body of foreign policy. It is not operating on the premise of one assumption about the Soviet Union. It does not assume either that there can be peace, or must be war, or might be tolerable coexistence. There is no consistent drive either toward peacemaking, or containment, or roll-back. . . . At best, this might be called eclecticism in foreign policy—a selection of whatever instrument seemed most useful on any given day to meet the needs of a new situation as of that day. At worst, it is confusion."

In this situation, whenever there is even the most tentative move toward a more sensible approach, all the powerful forces in the U.S. which have a vested interest in continuing the war-preparations policy promptly apply heavy pressure. U.S. policy will change only when public opinion is able to organize counter-pressure for a policy of peace.

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The great Socialist debate: Chou in spotlight as arbiter

By Elmer Bendiner

IN THE SKYSCRAPER halls of Moscow University Chinese Premier Chou En-lai early this month underwent the visiting dignitary ritual of receiving a doctor of laws degree. Chou smilingly protested that he did not know nearly enough to rate this honor but when he had the parchment and became Dr. Chou, he said the title would prompt him to go back and study.

At 56 the gentle-mannered Chou has been for years China's chief negotiator and diplomat. Morgan Phillips, secy. of the British Labour Party, wrote after an interview with Chou: "I learned that his name means "Forthcoming Blessing," and that is how many in Asia think of him today." Last week many in Europe, too, thought of Chou in those terms.

Dr. Chou seemed to be undertaking ing a difficult assignment: to bring order in the socialist half of the world at a time of maximum confusion, with brickbats flying among parties once monolithically united, with Communists seeking new roads, through economic and political crises, to socialism. Chou came fresh from India to Moscow and was scheduled to tour much of East Europe before his return to China.

PEKING'S ROLE: His trip accented China's rise to world prominence. Many thought that Chou might be a choice arbiter not only because of his own talent for delicate negotiations but because his country was the only big Communist world power aside from the Soviet Union. Peking could carry as much weight as Moscow and, in dissident circles, perhaps more.

There was a story widely current in Warsaw that a letter from China exists indicating that Russian leaders who favored decisive military action to control the Gomulka revolution of October had been dissuaded only by urgent Chinese advice. Still, there was no thought that Chou would carry any free-wheeling theories to Moscow. His mission seemed to be to knit the socialist world, not further divide it.

Chinese thinking was summed up in a 14,000-word report of the Central Committee of the Chinese CP, broadcast over the Peking radio on Dec. 28. The full text has not yet been made available. Press reports are as yet scanty. The N.Y. **Times** (12/30/56), trying to find a Chinese "line" in it, headed its first story, datelined Hong Kong: "PEIPING'S REGIME SCORES TITOISM; HAILS SOVIET TIES." The dispatch called the report a "reaffirmation of allegiance to Soviet leadership." On Jan. 4 the **Times** took a second look at the same report and headed an analysis by Harry Schwartz: "PEIPING DISPUTES MOSCOW PRIMACY."

THE YUGOSLAV ISSUE: The Chinese statement, according to Schwartz, reminded socialists that the chief conflict in the world was not within the socialist world but between socialism and capitalism. The Chinese press has carried Yugoslav President Tito's principal statements in the controversy. Sections of the Chinese report cited by the Western press supported some Yugoslav views but also expressed "amazement" at Tito's hammering away at the conflict between "Stalinists" and "'anti-Stalinists." The Chinese apparently saw in that theme the threat of a split in the communist movement. However, they credited Tito with sticking to socialism "under difficult conditions."

On the Gomulka administration in Poland, however, reports indicated the Chinese statement was far kinder, applauding Gomulka's ability to assert independence, install reforms and still squelch counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet trends in Poland. Though the Chinese asserted the leading position of the Soviet Union as the first country of socialism and defended its actions in Hungary, they also called for greater independence by communist parties of the world. History had shown the errors of violating that independence, said the report.

CHOU IN WARSAW: The Chinese thesis, like the Polish one, was that solidarity would be improved by relations "on the basis of equality." The statement charged that Stalin had been guilty of "great power chauvinism" and had ignored the rights of communist parties and socialist countries outside the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, they said, Stalin's achievements would outweigh his errors.

Evidence of Chou's key diplomatic role mounted daily, with disclosures that Khrushchev had made a secret two-day visit to Peking early in November; and that on Chou's arrival in Moscow Hungary's Premier Janos Kadar had flown there to confer with him. Chou was due to stop in Budapest on his tour.

In Warsaw Chou was warmly greeted by high officials and by big crowds. He accorded the Soviet Union the "first place among equals" in the Socialist world, endorsed the new democratization, but closed the door to wholesale revisions of Marxist thought to allow for "bourgeois" democracy. Chou said: "We all make mistakes. But only the workers' parties and the working class can unmask their foes. In this lies the superiority of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

MEETING IN BUDAPEST: Of the Gomulka administration, trying to rally its forces for parliamentary elections on Jan. 20, Chou said: "We see now with gladness that all the healthy and Socialist forces in Poland gather about the Central Committee, at the head of which is Comrade Gomulka."

CHOU EN-LAI
A visitor from the East

There had been a flurry of other diplomatic moves. The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia sent top spokesmen to a conference in Budapest early this month. Poland and Yugoslavia, which had been most critical of the Soviet Union and the present Hungarian regime, were absent. But, unaccountably, so was Albania, which feuds with Yugoslavia but has had no reproach for Moscow or Budapest.

The communique that came out of Budapest stressed vigorous criticism of the Eisenhower declaration on the Middle East, but it seemed safe to assume that the conferees talked more of the socialist world's internal problems. The conferees reported steady economic improvements everywhere in the socialist world except Hungary. On their relations with each other they vowed to preserve unity while stressing equality, mutual respect for sovereignty and independence.

YUGOSLAV POSITION: More fence-mending was observed in East Germany whose CP leader Walter Ulbricht, on his return from Warsaw, told reporters that imperialists would "never drive a wedge between us."

If Poland could weather its economic problems, keep democratization rolling and restrain its wilder elements, the socialist world seemed ready to accept Warsaw's particular path to socialism. Only the French CP seemed strongly suspicious of where that road led. But Yugoslavia was still the target in Soviet and Albanian papers, as well as in the French CP organ **L'Humanite.**

Chou criticized Tito's more explosive statements but insisted on including Yugoslavia in the socialist camp. Yugoslav standing had fallen sharply in Moscow. Tito had been openly charged with seeking to impose his own road to socialism on other countries, of encouraging Hungarian rebels, of presenting the Yugoslav workers' councils as models for a state honestly determined to wither away and let the workers take over. Only the Poles were friendly.

CHOU'S MAIN JOB: As the year opened, Gomulka conferred with Tito's top aide, Svetozar Vukmanovich-Tempo in Warsaw. The Warsaw **Tribuna Ludu** called the sessions "sincere talks and friendly criticism." Vukmanovich-Tempo told reporters that they had agreed that socialist solutions might vary with each country; that there could not be one straight-and-narrow path; that no communist country should interfere with another but mutual criticism was in order; that bilateral understandings were important but did not preclude "broader cooperation" among communist states.

Chou's assignment was not to line up for one viewpoint against another, or to rule on such questions as where the CP fits into the state, or what the influence of the Soviet Union should be. As yet there were no rigid positions on these. All Communist spokesmen acknowledged the notion of union in diversity. The question was one of emphasis and Chou would have to do what Khrushchev had failed to do: establish an international socialist form of diplomacy that ruled out "great-nation chauvinism" on the one hand and a passion for mavericks on the other.

THOSE 48 HOURS: The Chinese had taken a strong stand in support of the second Soviet military intervention that put an end to the Hungarian rising. But even there, as the January **Monthly Review** pointed out, indications are that "Peking's attitude was by no means the mere rubber stamp of Moscow's that it is pictured to be in the Western press." The **Review** quoted the Budapest dispatch of Basil Davidson in the **New Statesman and Nation** (10/8/56): "The Chinese . . . believe that white terror had won control of Budapest for 48 hours before the second Soviet attack: they, after all, had eight of their Legation staff assaulted (one so badly as to need amputation of a leg) and many of their students insulted."

Two socialist views indicated further reappraisal of the Hungarian fighting: In December Herbert Wehner, member of the Central Board of the West German Social Democratic Party, reported to party leaders in Hamburg on Hungary as seen through the eyes of Social Democrat Anna Kethly. Miss Kethly had been brought hastily to the U.S. at the height of the fighting and disappointed many of her sponsors by declining to urge UN armed intervention.

"FEVER OF DESTRUCTION": According to the **Democratic German Report** (12/7/56), which summarized Wehner's statement: "By the beginning of November, Anna Kethly said, she realized that the popular movement was in danger of falling under the influence of other forces. Hatred against the security police and against communist functionaries had developed into a sort of fever of destruction against everybody believed to be members or officials of the Communist Party. Not only they, but also their wives and children were being persecuted and killed in indescribably brutal ways."

Wehner said the Hungarian Social Democrats had pleaded with Cardinal Mindszenty to cease his "subversive activities" and had warned the peasants of the perils of a restoration of the Horthy regime.

Wehner said that Janos Kadar had formed his Socialist Workers Party to "get things under control again . . . People often call this government formed by Kadar simply a Quisling government. Of course, people standing on the fringe of events generally think they know best, but this has nothing to do with actual events . . . It is not possible to tell today whether a development such as has taken place in Poland can be achieved in Hungary, so that at least some of the reforms desired by the people can be carried out."

Wehner concluded: "It is difficult to find firm ground again after the events in Hungary, and attempts to do so will not be made easier by seizing this opportunity to carry on a totally one-sided propaganda in the same tone as those who have always told us that the Russians can do nothing but shoot."

WLADISLAW GOMULKA
An experiment in the West

COLE'S VIEWPOINT: In the **New Statesman and Nation** (1/12), socialist-pacifist G.D.H. Cole wrote of events before the final return of Soviet military forces to Budapest: "Sheer chaos thus threatened the country; and it is not possible to say what would have happened had not the Soviet Union, after once evacuating, sent back its tanks and lent its backing to the attempt to construct a new Communist government under the leadership of Janos Kadar."

Cole granted the dangers of Hungarian chaos to the Socialist world but still held that "it is morally wrong to impose a regime on a people by external force, even if such action does work out favorably for the cause of world revolution . . ."

ALLEN DULLES QUOTED: In the UN, which last week kept the pot boiling by setting up a five-nation committee to interview refugees, Soviet representative Vassily Kusnetzov said Allen Dulles, head of CIA, had "boasted" of a direct connection with the Hungarian rebels. The charge was apparently based on a N.Y. **Times** story (11/13/56), which quoted an unidentified member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. This Senator said Dulles had testified his agency "knew all about" the Polish and Hungarian risings in advance. The London **Daily Mail** (10/25/56), two days after the fighting started, quoted Dulles: "During the past days I have dined with free people who worked for a whole year on the preparations for the uprising that broke out this week."

Kusnetzov also referred to the Traunstein camp in Upper Bavaria where, according to German reports, Franco's Spanish officers and Hungarian fascists trained recruits in partisan warfare.

Within Hungary itself, martial law and the death penalty were extended to cover any kind of sabotage. There were isolated instances of Hungarian officials ambushed by snipers, of demonstrations and shooting. Factory production was admittedly still suffering and the Kadar government still seemed to lack anything resembling public confidence.

CALENDAR

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FILM FORUM REESTABLISHED Chicago's exclusive outlet for Soviet films. First Program: "The Fate of Marina" (premier of new drama) and "In the Dombai • Valley" (color documentary). Fri., Jan. 25, Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted, 8 p.m. Sun., Jan. 27, Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt, 3 p.m. Adm. 90c.

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Outstanding historian, **DR. HERBERT APTHEKER**, will lecture on problems facing radicals. Edith Segal, folk dance caller. Sun., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m., 189 2nd Av. (2nd floor). In the future—a program of interesting movies.

CAPT. HUGH N. MULZAC speaks on Seamans Defense Comm. fight to regain jobs. ALSO film, "TO HEAR YOUR BANJO PLAY," featuring PETE SEEGER, FRIDAY, JAN. 25, 8:30 p.m., at 168-18 Liberty Av., Jamaica, L.I. Refreshments. Ausp: Jamaica Comm. for Legis. Action. Adm. FREE.

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a series of public discussions:
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Feb. 8th: "Labor and the South: The Battle for Integration." Speakers: **CONRAD LYNN, CLIVE KNOWLES.**

Feb. 15th: "American Labor Politics—Democratic Party or Third Party?" Speakers: **RUSS NIXON, TOM KERRY, ROBERT CLAIBORNE.**

Friday nights at 8 p.m. at Socialist Unity Forum Hall, 229 7th Av. (nr. 23rd St.) Contribution each forum one dollar.

LABOR ACTION FORUMS, Thursdays, 8:30 p.m. **Jan. 24:** Julius Falk, Independent Socialist League, on "Impact of Hungarian Revolution on Independent Left" (Sweezy, Cochran, etc.). **Jan. 31:** Dr. Don Peretz, guest specialist, on "8 Years of Arab-Israel Conflict." Adm. free. 114 West 14 St.

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Books and Publications

BOOKFAIR'S BARGAIN OF THE WEEK: "American Labor Struggles," by Samuel Yellen. A detailed account of the most dramatic and decisive strikes in American labor history. Haymarket, Homestead, Pullman, Lawrence, Ludlow and others. $5.00. SALE PRICE $2.98. "The History of a Literary Radical, and Other Papers," by Randolph Bourne; with an introduction by Van Wyck Brooks. $3.75. SALE PRICE $1.98. "Foundations of Christianity," by Karl Kautsky. $5.50. SALE PRICE $2.98. "Genesis of Plato's Thought," by Alban Dewes Winspear. A penetrating, critical analysis of Plato's thought $5. SALE PRICE $2.98. Clip this ad. Add 15c per book for shipping. Watch this space for weekly bargains. **BOOKFAIR**, 113 W. 49 St., New York 19, N.Y.

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BLOSSOMING FLOWERS

Asian writers conference

A WEEK-LONG conference of writers from 14 Asian countries closed its sessions in New Delhi, India, on Dec. 29, with a round-table discussion among the delegates and observers from Africa, Europe and the Americas. Against a background of the freedom of "emergent Asia" from foreign domination, the writers' freedom and responsibilities were debated. The writers' responsibilities were not seriously disputed, according to the New China News Agency, but divergent views on the matter of freedom were expressed in a friendly and informal way.

The policy of "letting all flowers blossom and all schools of thought contend," which was advanced early last year by the Chinese cultural leader Kuo Mo-jo, was echoed by Burmese writer U Thein who said that writers should be free to use any literary form since forms and styles "are like flowers and all are beautiful in their own way."

It was agreed that it was the writer's job to reconcile Western and Eastern civilizations while preserving their own traditions. However, Indian writer Mulk Raj Anand warned against indiscriminate revivalism and urged that only the best of man's heritage from the past be restated in modern terms.

Mulzac to speak in Jamaica Jan. 25

CAPT. Hugh Mulzac, first Negro in modern times to captain a U.S. merchantman—the wartime Liberty Ship Booker T. Washington—and now leading the fight against blacklisting among maritime workers, will be a principal speaker Fri. eve. Jan. 25 at a meeting of the Jamaica (N.Y.) Committee for Legislative Action, 168-18 Liberty Av. Refreshments will be served and there will be a showing of the film **To Hear Your Banjo Play**, a short history of American folk music with narration, songs and banjo-playing by Pete Seeger. There is no admission charge.

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Midnight sun

BROMMA, SWEDEN

U.S. journals are reporting that the Communist movement in W. Europe will lose great quantities of its membership after the events in Hungary. In Stockholm the party has lost 15 members out of nearly 3,000 since Oct. 23, and in the same period at least that many have joined.

An interesting development has been the calm and understanding attitude shown by Social Democrats. For example, at the Stockholm City Council Dec. 17 when two "popular" judges were to be elected, according to the proportional system the CP had the right to propose the candidates. The Conservatives put up rival candidates and raised the question of Hungary in the debate, but the CP candidates were elected with 47 votes (Communist and Social Democrat) and with only the 19 Conservatives voting for the Conservative candidates. The Liberals abstained.

In Solna, when there was a City Council discussion about advertising its meetings in the press, the Conservatives argued against advertising in the Communist **Ny Dag**, but 37 Council members voted for it with 11 against (9 Conservatives and 2 Liberals). In this case most of the Liberals joined with the Communists and Social Democrats.

John Takman

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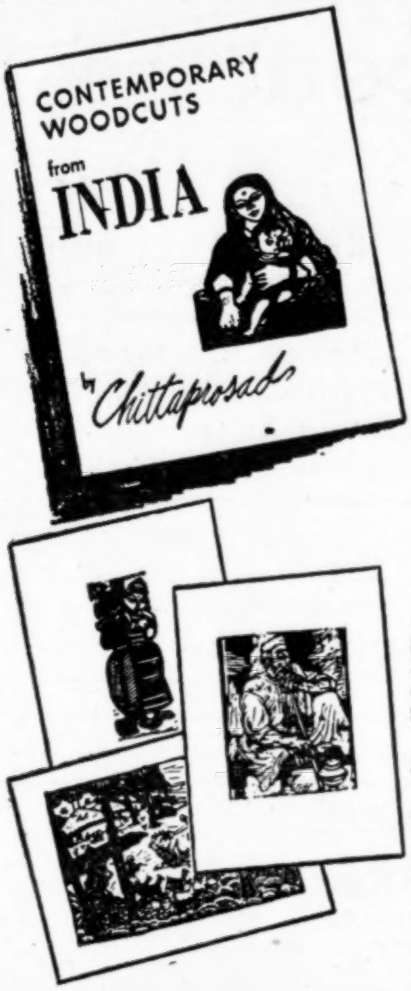
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the SPECTATOR

The Fox

A VILLAIN, a toady, a bouncy bawd and an assortment of panders make vice beguiling these nights in Stefan Zweig's carnival version of Ben Jonson's **Volpone** which opened last week at the Rooftop Theater at Houston St. and Second Av. in Manhattan.

JANET WARD

Rich Volpone, played with gusto by Howard da Silva, lies propped in a canopy bed pretending to die, but all the while deftly conning Rennaissance Venetians out of their money, jewels and wives by dangling the hope of a rich legacy.

Alfred Ryder, as Mosca, Volpone's toady and master strategist, dances through his role like a nimble ballet version of Iago, expressing delicious villainy with a squirm, a leap, a pirouette, a gesture of the hand, as much as with language which seems at times almost unnecessary.

BROAD FARCE: But credit for the evening's fun goes less to the stars than to the production as a whole. There is an airy dance quality throughout, with a touch of Mardi Gras and the broad farce of Shakespearian clown comedy in it. The production designs of Mordecai Gorelik are simple but elegant. The scenes are changed by dancers, under Daniel Nagrin's direction, who turn graceful handsprings and toss props about while they arrange the ingenious sets.

It is perhaps a bit odd to find these dancing prop men carrying the actors in and out too, as if they were puppets; but after the first shock that also seems to fit into the fun.

If Volpone were played without the high jinks it might not stand up so well. The sexy notes are sounded so boomingly and played so broadly that they all seem wholesome. There's no sly smut, no tortured double-meanings. It's sex, free and open and generous. Much credit for that goes to Janet Ward's Canina, a prostitute whose charms prettily overflow, and who in other ways fills the stage with high spirit.

GAY MALICE: There is perhaps a let-down in the final act when virtue triumphs. Mosca as a gadfly of mischief is delightful, but when he quite inexplicably reforms, he loses his grace somewhat and seems tired. It is edifying to have him reform, trick Volpone out of his fortune and then right all wrongs, but it does dampen the gustiness. Similarly, the virtuous sea captain Leone, played by Robert Blackburn, seems oddly unattractive for all his handsome cape twirling. The malice is so gay that reformers seem like spoilsports. This plea for consistent villainy may be justified since all of Volpone's victims are no better than himself.

Among these victims are Arthur Malet's Corbaccio, a marvelous gargoyle of a man who practices usury, lechery and exultant death-bed watching in delightful caricature; the stupid Corvino (Vincent Gardenia) who invests the virtue of his equally stupid wife Columba (Peggy Pope) in hopes of the legacy: and the notary Voltore (Art Smith), a deftly drawn Rennaissance shyster.

HOWARD DA SILVA

VENETIAN MURALS: Producers Sidney Bernstein and Gene Frankel (who also directed) have mounted this show handsomely from the lobby on in. The mood takes hold of the audience as soon as the elevator doors opensix floors above Second Av. The Rooftop Theater, which some producers might find difficult, is made part of the stage set by a handsome mural and wall panels in high Venetian style painted by Edward Melcarth.

The evening adds up to a ribald's Christmas Carol with a lusty Scrooge, all flesh and no ghosts, with the root of all evil inescapably depicted, and a noble moral at the end that does not really get in the way of the fun.

— **Elmer Bendiner**

Guardian Night at Volpone Feb. 7. Coupon, p. 11

Worth fighting for

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I don't have to stand on the highest mountain to see the good things in humanity.
I don't want to tread in the low valleys to look up, and see aeroplanes, with their bellies full of bombs;
I want to walk on a level with my people and see their simple folk-like homes.
I don't want to walk down-hill and see guns and armies and big shots,
I want to walk up-hill and see men and women making a decent living, able to play with their little tots,
I'm going to move with these people black, white, yellow and red, we are going to flow along with solid unbreakable ties,
We're going to smash armies and guns and big shots and bombs for evermore,
That's a Christmas present we all want and, brother, that's worth fighting for.

Eugene Bernofsky (age 15)